1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Kanokupolu, or perhaps Tui Haa Takalaua, developed his own kava circle (fig. 1) as a secondary ceremony to that of the Tui Tonga. Along with it there arose minor differences of procedure. The two separate courts which thus developed were called metaphorically Kauhalauta (Inland-side-of-the-road), referring to the Tui Tonga; and Kauhalalalo (Shore-side-of-the-road), referring to the Tui Kanokupolu, and traditionally to the earlier Tui Haa Takalaua. The Tui Tonga's type of kava procedure seems to have given way everywhere to that of the Tui Kanokupolu, except on the island of Fotuhaa, where according to the informant Moungatonga, the Kauhalauta procedure is still followed.

In a formal kava circle in which the Tui Tonga presided, he received the second cup of the beverage, the first going to one of his matapules. The cup was carried to him in silence, his title not being called. In a formal kava circle in which the Tui Kanokupolu presides, the third cup is his. It is announced as "Ave ia maa Taliai Tupou" (Take it to Taliai Tupou). As Taliai Tupou is the name of the patron god of the Tui Kanokupolu, it would appear that the king impersonates the god. Anciently the Tongans poured out kava as an offering to the gods, as is done in Samoa to-day as an offering to the Deity. The kava drinking was the occasion for making welfare prayers.

In the accounts of the Kauhalauta procedure which follow no deity is mentioned. They appear to date from the time of the Tui Tonga, as reference to the Moheofo (the Tui Tonga's wife) indicates. The following translations are from a manuscript by the late Malupo, a matapule to the Tui Tonga.

If it is the illness of the Tui Tonga, or the sickness of a chief, and the country is in trouble, then these words shall be used, in mixing the kava: "The kava is diluted."

The person who is directing the serving says, "Diluted with a blessing."

Then the mixer repeats: "The kava is diluted."

The real significance is a prayer for a blessing by the means of the kava, because of the sickness of the Tui Tonga, or the illness of a chief, or any difficulty the land may be in. It is not right for any ordinary person to invoke the blessing. Only a chief, or a matapule who is a clever speaker, may do it; and it is not done at random; but only when the kava is diluted. At that moment he speaks.

The kava ceremony is performed also when preparing for war, or during war, or for a voyage, or for work that is to be done. In addition to performing a kava ceremony when the Mohefo expects to be confined, a prayer (*lotui*) is said that the child may be a son, and many prayers are offered by the people.

This prayer may also be uttered:

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 009 Tonga 009

which this clergyman enjoyed is further exemplified by the following anecdote: A married couple failed to produce children. They besought the aid of this clergyman and brought to him a pig. Still they were not blessed with a baby. Their neighbors said that the pig was not big enough. Apparently the procedure is the same as in heathen times.

Anciently, a priest might tapu a banana tree with its fruit by hanging a reed (*kaho*) on it. It was tapu for anyone to eat bananas from the tree under fear of sickness or death. The people regarded the priest "almost like a god." If he said a man would be dead tomorrow, the man died. If a person were sick or fell from a tree, or had other bad luck, it was regarded as evidence that he had stolen tapu bananas.

Peter Vi (3) tells of the following as taking place about 1830:

> There was little food at Haapai [Lifuka], because there was a tapu on the yams, and the pigs, etc., because they were preparing for the feast of the marriage of the Tui Haapai [Taufaahau] and Asipau.

It is said that if a commoner eats or drinks of the coconuts that grow on the top of the walled mound Siamafuauta, or rests there, he or she will become afflicted with goiter or some other sickness. This is because it is a chief's place and supernormally guarded by the Tui Tonga's tapu. This belief is still prevalent among the inhabitants of the neighboring village of Maufanga, Tongatabu.

It was tapu for a woman to step over a growing yam vine, presumably lest the plant be blighted. The term *hinakaiunga* refers to gray-headedness as a punishment for eating crab.

It was tapu to eat or drink the remains of the meal of a person higher in rank, a sore throat or swollen stomach being the probable result.

The following account was recorded by Collocott on January 29, 1921. It reveals the tapus connected with superior relatives.

> The girl Ika is suffering from a pain in her jaw; there seems to be a wisdom tooth growing. Amongst other measures for relief she went to her father's sister and told her about it, lest she should in this aunt's house have eaten something she should not, such as, remains of the aunt's food. The latter lady told her that there could be nothing of that, and that the trouble could be accounted for materially. Ika is named after the mother of her father and after this sister of her father—[the name Ika was given by the grandmother herself during her lifetime] and this naming gives her great immunities, in fact, seems to confer on her all the immunities that would be enjoyed by the older Ika herself were she still alive, but the girl's own inclination clearly is to use very sparingly her privileges. The aunt has given her food and drink left by her (Ika's) father, but she has not ventured to eat or drink them. She frequently goes to this aunt's place and eats there, and used to sit outside the house when eating or drinking, but the aunt, independently apparently of the efficacy of the name Ika, has got her to come inside and take her food, just like one of her own family. It was this practice that seemed to lend color to the girl's fear that her toothache was caused by improper eating. Had a broken tapu been the cause of Ika's tooth trouble the aunt could have cured it by stroking the spot. Incidentally, Ika mentioned to me that the penalty for using the comb of one who is tapu to me is that my hair turns gray.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

ing where there are a number of big chiefs none of whom has any marked superiority of rank over the others. In such circumstances the work of distribution of kava, food, and other materials, becomes difficult, as questions of precedence are then delicate. 539 164 554 565

495. Hange ha fononga Makave: Like people from Makave. 539

Makave in Vavau is reputed to have had an unusually large proportion of unfortunates disfigured by the ulceration, which destroys the nose. The expression is used of very well cooked food which is compared to the appearance of the victims of this disease. 164 261

496. Tahataha e tama pea papala: Only one child and afflicted with sores. 539 164 892

The original reference is to parents who have only one child, and that one covered with sores. The expression is applied to those who have only one of a thing, and that one is bad.

DEATH AND BURIAL

497. Afia e mala kehe: Keeping vigil in other people's misfortune. 539

The misfortune referred to is death. It is proper for the relatives of the dead to keep watch round the body. This expression indicates one who joins the watchers round the body of a dead person with whom he has no family connection. Among its applications is one to a man who pays unsuccessful court to a girl. He spends his nights and loses his sleep in visits to the young lady who in the end falls to the lot of some other wooer. As we might say in slang that is very near to the Tongan expression, "it has been somebody's else 'funeral.'" 764 751 [584]

498. Lau hono fala: His mat is reckoned, or his sand is reckoned. 539

When one is about to die people are sent to commence arrangements for interment by getting the sand up from the seashore to fill in the grave and build up the mound over it. At the present time this sand is carried in ordinary rough baskets of coconut leaf but previously it used to be brought in mats wound round the waist and having a large fold in the front into which the sand was put. The phrase means that death is certain. One frequently hears it, for instance, in games, said of a side whose defeat appears to be inevitable and imminent. (See No. 305.) 763 [285] [415] [482]

499. Lelei ae ofa ki afitoka: Kindness to the cemetery is good. 539

I feel kindly disposed to this person, but it is best that he be laid to rest in the burying-ground and that my love should go out to him there. Used, for example, of one who for a long time has been very sick, so that his friends despair of his recovery and are tired of looking after him. 761

500. Hange ha mata tae pokia: Like an eye not shut. 539

This refers to the closing of the eye of the dead. The expression is used of one who sleeps with his eyes open, also of a person with a frank open countenance, and of sun, moon, or stars when they appear clear and unclouded. 764 513 826 821

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

seduced me: but it would answer no useful end.

For the same reason, though it might serve to show the gross wickedness of a people, in many respects generous, humane and friendly; and might evince their need of that glorious light of christianity, which modern illuminati would extinguish, as darkening the light of simple nature, (which, notwithstanding all the refined speculations of sophistry, is too fully proved to be wholly corrupt,) I forbear to describe the disorderly meetings that were held, at particular spots, for nocturnal dances, and the tumultuous excursions of young men through the country during the night.* If, notwithstanding the light of divine truth, and the regulations of a police, in christian countries, so many harlots fill the streets of every populous town, it is not wonderful that "fesnetakabous," the name by which, in these Islands, these depraved creatures are known, should abound in the polluting groves of Tonga.

Here, however, to the honor of the Tongas, it should be acknowledged, that no Arreoy society exists on the Island: the idea of the abominable practises of the Arreoys at Otaheite, they hold in detestation. They are never guilty of murdering their children: on the contrary, they have a numerous offspring, to which they are very much attach-

* Quædam ignorare sapientiæ est.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

175 ed: nor is adultery, on the part of the wife, pub-
837 lickly allowed here. The severest punishment
[947] might be inflicted on the offender, if discovered, by
[842] the husband. But in Tonga, as in this nominal
[684] christian kingdom, that is often secretly perpetrated, which is publickly condemned. Great abuses, however, are openly committed: of many of which, I lament to say, that I have often been an eyewitness; yea, joined in the practice of some of them.

000 Let every youth beware of the alluring attractions of sensual objects. When a mind that has been impressed with pious sentiments, once begins to listen to the voice of appetite, and to venture on indulgence, who knows how the spirit of God, when his convictions have been repeatedly checked and resisted, may, at length, be provoked to withdraw them, and to leave the man to "go on frowardly in the way of his heart," till he "commit all iniquity with greediness."*

The illustrious example of the wisest King of Israel proves, that passion is not weakened by indulgence, that the desires of man are never satisfied, that our safety from the dominion of "youthful lusts," is only in our "flight" from them, that to make the tempter flee, we must "resist him sted-

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* An Heathen could say,
Virtus est vitium fugere, et sapientia prima
Stultitia caruisse.

[This page retyped by HRAF.]

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

adoption is relatively rare in the village.[18] This may be due to two factors. First, married but barren women are rare in Pangai. Of all the married women in the village, informants knew of but two who were definitely barren and could have no children of their own. These were the two women who had permanently adopted children. All the other married women had or had had, children of their own. There is therefore little incentive to permanent adoption. This incentive is lessened by the second factor: there are no strong lineage-feelings among the villagers, nor any strong lineage-groupings. None of them had any association with, nor any interest in, the classic lineages of Tonga as listed, for instance, by Gifford.[19] We soon gave up asking informants for lineage-membership when it became evident that they had knowledge of none or merely said they belonged to the lineage of their father, that is, adding their father's name to the generic term for lineage *(ha'a)*. For some Polynesian groups the continuation in the next generation of a lineage- or descent-group is a matter which is carefully planned and bolstered with both blood and adopted children. The Tongan villager seems almost indifferent to this matter. He may be interested in the survival of his own personality through the continued existence of his own blood-children after his death. This is also a not uncommon feeling among white people. But as for the continued existence of a family-line which has value in and for itself, the villager fails to make any motion of response. The situation would be different, of course, for the Tongan noble, who is proud of his membership in one of the great named Tongan descent-groups.

[18] Gifford (*Tongan Society*, p. 26) writes that "adoption was and is exceedingly common in Tonga." He adds that it "may vary from a truly earnest relation in which the child is taken into the bosom of the family, to mere formality." Our data from Pangai obviously suggest that these generalizations of Gifford's do not hold for all Tongan culture.

[19] The statement of Gifford (*Tongan Society*, p. 30) that "some commoners are not aware of their lineage as such, but most are, and claim relationship to some chief, usually the one under whom they live," hardly applies to the Pangai commoners, none of whom knew their lineage, none of whom would dare to claim relationship to the lineage of the royal family.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

Between two extremes, there are such aspects of the culture as economics where a subsistence-economy that is largely Tongan in techniques and organization has been interpenetrated by a money-economy derived from European culture; or the ceremony of marriage where a Christian ritual and a civil registration have been imposed upon a Tongan way of marriage—here the Tongan form is likely to be submerged in the near future by an imported form that appeals because of its simplicity and is felt to be a necessity because of Christian teaching. But the function of marriage is still regarded in Tongan fashion as the producing of children.[35] There is as yet no evidence of a European cultural attitude that thinks in terms of contraceptives and planned parenthood.

Again, in customs relating to birth and death, Tongan practice is still largely followed in the village. Tongan midwifery is uniformly the rule at the birth of a child; and at death, Tongan customs are also followed with the exception that on the one hand Christian prayers and the singing of Christian hymns have now a part in the funeral proceedings, and on the other hand, villagers are all buried in the one village cemetery whereas in ancient aboriginal practice, before grouping in villages took place, a dead person was buried on his own plantation or under the floor of his house.

Finally, to take one more example, education, previously informal, has now become institutionalized by the establishment of a formal school-system. The curriculum and the content of this system are based on European models, the language of instruction is Tongan. This means that whatever changes are introduced into the village culture by the ability of the ordinary villager to read and write, nonetheless he is still viewing this culture through the medium of his own native language. The basis of communication within the culture, therefore, is still in terms of thought- and language-patterns which are given formal structure by the

[35] Dr. Lopdell gives us the case, which he regards as not untypical of Tongan belief and practice, of a still young married woman and her husband who had had twelve children in the first fifteen years of their marriage and none for two years thereafter, and who consulted him because of their worry over lack of more offspring. Their fear was that their neighbours would think that they no longer loved each other!

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

period of which we have information totemism has given way to a more highly developed polytheism, but there are indications that the development was by way of totemism. There are the usual restrictions on the eating of the sacred animal, though some fish which enjoyed a certain amount of sanctity were used for food by those in whose eyes they were sacred. The whole question of fishing was edged about with *tabus*, the consideration of which would lead us too far afield from the matter in hand. But I have not yet been able to positively ascertain whether the species of a fish in which a god was actually embodied was ever eaten by his devotees. For instance, there is more than one shark deity, but I know of only one clan who refrained from eating shark from religious motives. The two most famous shark gods manifest themselves in sharks which are not used as food, and, are in fact altogether exceptional, and probably purely mythical fish. Putting aside a few fish, which, if not actually the vehicles of gods, were at all events the subject of special *tabus*, the prohibition of the eating of the sacred animal is general and clear. A highly respected native minister of the Methodist Church informs me that to this day he gets a headache if he eats the sacred animal of his clan, though it is esteemed a delicacy by those who have the good fortune to be exempted from the *tabu*, and probably most who are not.

There is an old story which is perhaps a fragment from an ancient and forgotten body of lore in which the totem plays an important part in the impregnation of the woman of his clan. The tale of the birth of the lovely Vae, who became so beautiful that there was not her equal in the whole of Tonga, relates that during her mother's pregnancy the food for which she craved was the rail. The idiom used to express such cravings of a pregnant woman might be translated with strict accuracy, so far as the form of expression goes, as the food by which she was pregnant, or had conceived. The present day Tongan, however, uses the expression without any idea of pregnancy having been caused by the object in question, but merely as indicating the fastidious liking of a delicate woman for a special food. The god of Vae's father was the dove, and before the mother had given birth to her child the parents embarked on a voyage, taking with them the dove god. On the way the expectant mother, in her longing for her favourite dish, asked her husband for a rail. He, rather exasperated at so unreasonable a request out at sea, screwed the neck of his god and gave his wife a meal of dove. Being compelled by stress of weather to put in at an island, the mother there gave birth to her child, which to her disgust was marked on the face by the dove's head. In her chargin at this disfigurement she abandoned the infant, a little girl, at the foot of a tree when the voyage was resumed. The remainder of the story, telling of the child's adoption by a couple on the island, the disappearing of the

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

NOTES ON TONGAN RELIGION.

By E. E. V. Collocot.

PART II.

TUI Haafakafonua. This god is identified with Moso in Samoa and Tutumatua in Fiji. His Tongan habitat was Maofanga, a village near Nukualofa. When the native cults were still living Maofanga enjoyed the reputation of special sanctity. There was here a chiefly burial ground, and the house of refuge of Tui Haafakafonua was justly famous. Many, if not all, of the gods had evidently their places of sanctuary, but some were not able to afford much protection to the fugitive from vengeance; they were *tutulu*, literally, leaky, but others were not leaky, and once within their precincts the guilty man was safe. Of these non-leaky sanctuaries that of Tui Haafakafonua was one of the most famous.

Fakafonua is the chief of Maofanga, and Haa-Fakafonua means the tribe or clan of Fakafonua. Tui Haa-Fakafonua means the king of the tribe of Fonua, the name suggesting a close connection with the tribal organisation. The sacred animal of this god was a lizard, and for the convenience of his departure, and presumably arrival, a tree or post was always provided for him to crawl along. A handy post or tree-stump was a regular part of his temple furnishings. At the end of a seance the priest clapped his hand on the post, and, evidently speaking as the god, said to the worshippers "Good-bye," and then evidently speaking as the priest to the god, again said "Good-bye," using a very high chiefly term. The people, too, using this same word, also bade the departing deity good-bye. In the native tongue of course these good-byes are very different terms as addressed to those who are going away or to those who are remaining.

It was the priest of this god whose inspiration Tamale witnessed as a boy. Tui Haa-Fakafonua used to appear in a pond in Maofanga, and was noted for his fondness for the ladies who used to become sick by bathing in the sacred water. It was this god to whom I referred previously as having heard that women became pregnant by bathing in his pond. Although this is not absolutely verified it seems a not unlikely detail.

Mofuta-ae-ta'u. This deity, whose name seems literally to mean the "Proud Boastfulness of the Season," was the god of Tamale, the chief of Niutoua, in Eastern Tongatabu, who was also intimately

75: Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1940 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vava'u
Pangai

as an illustration of an attack that might well be more fruitful in other and more competent hands.[3]

Dreams and Psychic Stress

Dreaming occurs fairly frequently among the villagers of Pangai. Men had no hesitation in telling their dreams to us or else recording them for us. The women, however, were much shyer and it was only by considerable perseverance that Pearl Beaglehole was able to record any dreams at all from women informants. There is no reason for thinking that women dream less than men. Many dreams seem to be in terms of conventional cultural symbols and are given a conventional interpretation by the Tongans. Thus for a husband to dream of money or a ring is a sign that his wife is pregnant. Dreams portending death, usually of a member of the family or some other close relative, are those of teeth falling out (said to be a common type of dream), dreams of feces on the body, dreams of touching or handling a hen's egg.[4] Dreams of approaching fire or of slipping down into a bottomless pit are terror dreams, generally interpreted as warnings of possible punishment should the dreamer continue to commit minor sinful acts. One informant also stated that dreams could be used to validate medicinal recipes. His mother's father was visited by a female spirit in a dream and given a successful recipe to cure barrenness and sterility in women.

Wish-fulfilment dreams appear to be frequent and capable of easy interpretation. The following are examples of this type of dream:

Case 1.—Avai, a boy of 18, home on vacation from a Seventh-Day Adventist College in Nukualofa, reported to me several dreams in which "a girl friend" appeared and offered herself to him in sexual intercourse. Tongan sexual morality among young people is relatively strict. Avai had previously been asked to leave the Government College, Nukualofa, for absenting himself at night from the college. He had determined to reform, but the occurrence of this type of dream suggests that his reforming zeal was not without its intrapsychic conflict.

Case 2.—Loata, a woman of about 35, our next-door neighbor and one very poor, even according to Tongan standards, narrated the following dream to Pearl Beaglehole: "You brought me a beautiful new dress as a gift and also a lot of pins to fasten it together after it had been fitted. My daughter Saane (6 years old) ran away with the pins, and when I chased her she suddenly changed into Saane Tapaka (a girl of 18 employed by us as housegirl, with the same first name as the daughter—we had previously given Saane T. a dress). I could not catch her, and when I came back to my house to get the dress I found you had gone and the dress was nowhere to be found." This dream is, I think, self-explanatory. Loata dressed for the most part in rags because her husband was too poor to buy new piece goods at the village store.

Case 3.—Kafa, a young woman of 18 years, married for two years without yet becoming pregnant (a rarity in Tonga), confesses to many dreams in which she gives birth to and nurses an infant. She also dreams occasionally that her husband, the local storekeeper and a hardworking man, has eloped

[3] Field work on which this paper was based was carried out in Tonga, December, 1938, to February, 1939. Pearl Beaglehole and I lived in the village of Pangai, Vava'u, a small Tongan community about six miles distant from Neiafu, government and trading center for Vava'u, the northern group of Tongan islands, 170 miles away by sea from Nukualofa, capital of the Tongan kingdom. The population of Pangai is about 270. Pearl Beaglehole helped me collect the material here recorded. Dr. J. C. Lopdell, Assistant Medical Officer, Vava'u, kindly gave me the information on which Case 10 (below) is based.

[4] E. W. Gifford, "Tongan Society," *Bishop Museum Bull.* 61, 1929, pp. 337–338, gives several further examples.

75: Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1940 0U9 Tonga 0U9
Vava'u
Pangai

with another woman. The first dream is patently a wish-fulfilment dream with an undercurrent of anxiety that becomes obvious in Kafa's second dream. The longer she remains without a child, the less secure she can feel in her husband's affections.

Case 4.—Heu, a woman of 30, long married but still without children, dreams that we are leaving Pangai and give her a baby girl as a farewell gift. She weeps over our departure but is glad she at last has a baby. She goes to get food for the baby, but, when she returns a moment later, the baby is gone. In her annoyance she beats her father's father, who lives in her house, accusing him of losing the baby. Then she awakes crying. This dream again is obviously motivated by the desire of a childless woman for children. Her paternal grandfather is very old and needs much attention and nursing. Making him responsible for the loss of a cherished gift enables the dreamer to vent on the old man some of the resentment she occasionally feels for him, but as quickly suppresses, during waking hours. A feeling of guilt over this causes her to awake in tears and feeling, as she added, that she "had done something very bad."

Anxiety dreams also seem to be common among these villagers. Many of these dreams seem to relate to anxieties over religious matters. These I shall consider later. Others appear to have a number of different motivations of which the following are examples.

Case 5.—Dream of Tui, married man of about 27. In his dream Tui saw a family picnic where he and his wife and baby, together with his mother-in-law and Sigaleti (his *fa'e tangata*, mother's brother), were present. After the picnic was finished, he sent his wife and mother-in-law inland to collect coconuts. He then mounted his horse and Sigaleti with his baby mounted another. They went along the beach and made the horses swim out to sea. It became dark and he lost sight of Sigaleti, but he continued to swim his horse until he arrived at Ha'apai (the middle islands of the Tongan group, some seventy miles distant from Pangai). There he saw Sigaleti and the baby on the beach. They rode down a village road until they came to the house where a white man lived with his wife. The baby began to cry with hunger. Tui lifted the baby from the horse and asked the white people for water. They had none, but they offered European food, which Tui fed to his baby with a spoon. At first the baby refused this new food, but later it ate eagerly. Then some relatives came by. One of them, another brother of his mother, walked toward him carrying a little girl. As he watched, his relative and the little girl fell into a deep pit. He rushed toward them because suddenly the little girl looked just like his own baby. He could not see them. He woke feeling depressed and sad.

It is possible to interpret this dream, I think, if I mention the fact that it was dreamed two days after Tui, a very intelligent man, had been discussing with us European methods of feeding and bringing up children. There is a heavy infantile mortality in Tonga and we had been propagandizing among the brighter Tongans for the exercise of more care in infant feeding (orange juice and cow's milk, for example, instead of half-cooked pork and taro and deadly teething powders). Many of our friends were quite receptive to this idea though they felt it would require much education and effort to put into practice. Tui was also extremely attached to his infant daughter. Doubtless a feeling of anxiety over his inability to do what Europeans with their great prestige thought best for his child gained expression in this dream. He symbolically dismisses his wife and mother-in-law, representative of current Tongan methods of infant care, and finds the desired foods for his child, only

161 1840 by Wilkes may have been an excessively conservative estimate (Maude, 1965:46), and the figure of 19,186 obtained from the first official census in 1891 (Matoto, 1971:9) is probably a better indication of the Tongan population at its lowest point. From studies of population trends in the South Pacific in general, Keesing (1942:47) estimated that "the lowest points in Polynesian populations were reached variously from 1890 to 1910."

161 The trend of a declining population was reversed around
165 the turn of the century, especially after World War I (Table 6), although about 1600 Tongans died in the worldwide influ-
161 enza epidemic of 1918 (Gifford, 1929:330). Since then, Tongan population has grown rapidly and, at present, Tonga has one of the highest population growth rates in the world, approximately three per cent per annum (Dommen, 1971:6).

161 This rapid growth can be attributed to the development
743 of a medical service, the construction of hospitals, an
312 improvement of public water supplies, an increase in natural
178 immunity to foreign diseases on the part of Tongans, and post-World War II economic prosperity.

161 From 1921 until the last official census in 1966, the
166 population of the Kingdom increased by about 225 percent and the population of Tongatapu increased by 390 percent,
168 partly owing to immigration from the outer islands. The
842 Tongan government hopes that the present "family planning" campaign will help to reduce this growth rate.

161
162

Table 6. Population of Tongatapu and Tonga, 1777-1971.

Year	Tongatapu	Tonga	Source
1777	10,000-12,000+	-	Estimate
1796	25,000+	-	Estimate
1800	13,000	30,000	Estimate
1840	8,000	18,500	Estimate
1852	-	20,000+	Estimate
1853	-	22,000	Estimate
1891	-	19,968	Census
1911	-	23,017	Census
1921	9,794	23,759	Census
1931	-	28,539	Census
1939	15,754	34,130	Census
1950	-	45,070	Estimate
1956	31,264	56,338	Census
1966	47,920	77,429	Census
1971	58,872	89,761	Estimate

Sources: 1777, 1796, 1800, 1840, 1853, 1911, 1950 (Maude, 1965; 26-27 and 46-47); 1852 (Matoto, 1971:9); 1891, 1956 (Toupouniua, 1958:1-17); 1921, 1966 (Fiefia, 1968:9); 1971 projections based on 1966 figures.

842 However, a 1970 study of "attitudes and practices in regard to fertility and its control" conducted by the University of Hawaii School of Public Health indicated that there are

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
009 Tonga 009

[1947-1971]

and disposed him to introduce new measures to expand Tonga's productivity. His brother, John Ngu Tu'ipelehake, also studied in Australia, specializing in agriculture. The princes' double wedding in 1947 was an occasion of great rejoicing among the people.

In 1953 the Queen visited Britain by invitation, to attend the coronation of Queen Elizabeth. There she won the affection of all who saw her, so that even to the present day the names "Tonga" and "Queen Salote" are linked in their minds. When she arrived, she soon attracted attention as "the tallest Queen of the smallest kingdom in the world". Her unaffected, yet regal, manner and her geniality made her the darling of the British public before the memorable day when, returning from Westminster Abbey, the Queen would not allow the hood of her carriage to be raised as protection against a continuous downpour. To the tumultous cheering of the hundreds of thousands who lined the route, she rode, waving enthusiastically in response to their cheers, when not wiping the rain from her forehead with her handkerchief. A leading article in a London newspaper said, "Few visitors from overseas can ever have endeared themselves so widely and speedily to the British people as the majestic lady who braved the drenching of the Coronation procession in her open carriage".

It was with great rejoicing that the Tongan people heard that Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh wished to include Tonga in their itinerary later in the year. All parts of Tonga vied with each other in preparing lavish hospitality. The Queen vacated her palace for the royal visitors. She felt obliged in courtesy to drive round the palace all night, and 400 men and women were on guard the whole time with flaming torches, observing an old custom. The royal party attended the Sunday morning service at the Centenary Church, with over 2,000 people inside and many hundreds outside. The President, the Rev. A. E. McKay, with the Secretary of Conference, Sau Faupula, conducted the service. The choir sang the "Sanctus" from Bach's B Minor Mass and did so with the verve for which Tongan church choirs have become renowned. In her message to the royal party after its departure, Queen Salote said, "I do not doubt that this historic occasion has renewed the store of faith and joy in the hearts of my people as rain refreshes a garden".

Tonga has been one of the most serious examples of population explosion. Efforts to increase production and to find additional exports have hardly coped with the needs of the rapidly expanding population. There has been a marked decline in the death rate and especially in infant mortality, as a result of the Government's improved medical and public health services. The birth rate, however, is still high — 29 per 1,000 in 1971. There was an increase of 35% in the population in the ten years, 1956-66. The population (always below 25,000 in the first quarter of the century) had swollen to 77,429 in the census of 1966. It is now estimated at 95,000 (1975), and to become 118,000 in 1980 — and this in a small archipelago with a total area of only 269 square miles where the inhabitants have to grow their food as well as cash-crops. The density of population is over 500 per square mile in Tongatapu, and much more in the small islands of Ha'apai where many men have no land. The family planning programme initiated by the Government has had little effect, largely through conservatism. In 1966, the average Tongan mother in the 35-45 age-group had slightly more than six children. The crowding into Nuku'alofa, which has grown from 3,000 fifty years ago to more than 25,000, has had unfortunate social consequences. Congestion,

/36 cont./

142 or "light chestnut brown." (75)
[175]

75. Idem., loc, cit. IV. p. 326.

These old accounts show, in any case, that an extensive change did not take place. However, we must take into account that limited changes in the physical appearance of the Tongan did take
142 place. /37/ The average Tongan type (insofar as we may speak of
144 one) probably remained essentially the same, and the present wealth of types, too, is in part original and can by no means be traced back to European influences. The last 300 years, especially the past decades, have, however, surely brought about a further differentiation. European blood admixtures to the third and fourth degree (and less) are numerically probably not low; for the association of European sailors with Tongan women, from the period of discovery, was mostly very considerable, (76)

76. See, for example, A. Montanus, loc. cit. p. 580; G. Forster, loc, cit. IV. p. 344. To this day Tongan women have shown little interest in birth control.
[842]

and there is, for example, a rather sizeable group of natives who know about their German grandfather or great-grandfather, although the German trading colony in Tonga was never very numerous. If the
144 official reports (numerically not always very reliable) give a
563 relatively small number of half-castes (77)

[113]

77. For example, Colonial Office, Report on Tonga for the Years 1950 and 1951 /cited in English/ London 1952. p. 6, gives 580 half-castes among 48,460 "pure blooded" Tongans for 1951.

we must not forget that these are half-castes of the first degree (that is, with one Tongan parent and one non-Tongan parent). The children of these half-castes--and Tongan families often have a high

/69 cont./

593 784 178 brother-sister taboo, seem to have occurred only during the past decades, for the stricter rules are still clear in the memory of all older people. The child-father taboo has been extensively relaxed because the belief /70/ in the power of this taboo (sickness or death as punishment for non-observance) is to a considerable extent lost on the "enlightened" present generation. A certain [562] observance of the brother-sister taboo may be explained as an exaggerated natural sexual avoidance among siblings, as well as the brother's social recognition of the ordinarily higher rank of his sister; for the restrictions mentioned are observed for reasons of "good upbringing" and not because of fear of the punishing power of a taboo.

593 562 Although the woman in Tonga society enjoys a highly respected social position, the man in the family has full authority, even if [178] his wife originally comes from a higher social rank than he. This state of affairs is the same as in ancient Tonga. (201)

201. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 98, 179.

592 428 When the head of the family dies, the eldest son becomes the head of the family. If he proves unqualified, the next older brother [178] takes his place. This arrangement very probably existed even in ancient Tonga.

842 Today, as in pre-European times, these natives are not familiar with birth control. Suggestions to the government by white officials for birth control fell on deaf ears. No one among the people seems to be interested in birth prevention. Children cause relatively little expense, for more eaters at daily meals will soon mean more helpers for work. Only a few members of the government foresee the threat of overpopulation of the islands in 30 or 50 years.

887 Old people living with younger married couples or independently

/74 cont./

839 the plantings. As in olden times, (210)

839 674 [178]

210. Rape in ancient Tonga was not regarded as a crime if women were not married or not of higher rank than that perpetrator (compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 107, 167); perhaps rape, for which Mariner mentions young chiefs in particular, became more frequent among commoners after their "liberation."

839 684 it is often not regarded as a crime. However, if such a deed is not forgiven by the girl who was attacked and if, subsequently, in the family counsel it is not "equalized" with some recompense, there follows a legal hearing (as a result of a charge by the raped girl) and the perpetrator must expect a term of imprisonment. On Nomuka, for example, from July 1951 to January 1952, there were four charges of rape in which eight young Tongans were involved. Most of them took their jail sentences calmly, knowing that they "had achieved 848 their goal." Although no one tries to prevent pregnancy, the number of illegitimate births is not as high as one might expect. For example, in Fungamisi/Vava'u (263 inhabitants) in April 1952, among 128 children only 12 were illegitimate, born to six unmarried girls. (211)

211. This is probably only slightly above the present average in Germany. For the entire Archipelago 9.89 per cent and 11.20 percent were the figures officially given for 1950 and 1949 respectively. (Report of the Department of Justice, for the Year 1950/ cited in English/. Nuku'alofa 1951. p. 3.)

[113]

[842] [833] The natives explain this disproportion by saying that very frequent intercourse is required to produce a child. If an unmarried girl becomes pregnant her parents are at first annoyed and probably reproach her bitterly. But the girl is often happy about the expected child, frequently sees in it a help in years to come, and will still be quite able to find a husband. However, girls who are unpopular

/84 cont./

165 163 167 and since this figure has doubled in the past three decades, (240)

240. For example, for 1919. 22,689 Tonga are reported (E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 6) and for 1949, 45,690 (Colonial Office, Report on Tonga for the Year 1949 / cited in English/. London 1950. p. 5).

(113)

we must assume that this birth surplus did not exist in the past. (144) Undoubtedly, the improved health service is one of the reasons for this change. However, if we consider the still very inadequate medical help and the indifference and negligence of the population of most of the small islands of the Archipelago, we must conclude that the population increase has other reasons as well. Yet, since the Tonga (842) in the past had no sort of birth control and it is not possible to explain the present excess of births /over deaths/ by a "psychic strengthening" of these natives, since there is no indication that they were formerly "psychically weaker," it is very difficult to interpret this change.

844 198 177 In general, we may say about the birth /process/ in Tonga that it still takes place largely in the ancient Tongan manner, although growing European influences must be reported. These may also be seen in infant care (diet and clothing).

/85/

Death

761 177 178 The odd, yet to the Tongans already quite natural, coupling of ancient Tongan traditions with Christian customs and European material attributes, which we observed in wedding and birth, becomes especially clear to us in /a consideration of/ death and burial.

763 343 For an old man who is near death the Tongans sometimes build, as they did in olden times for dying chiefs, (241)

241. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 199.

a special small house where he is laid in preparation for death. This not only gives the dying person special dignity, but it is also

1966. On the other hand, the reproductive age groups, ages 15 to 44, evidenced a decline within each age group, with the exceptions of ages 35 to 39 and 40 to 44. Further examination of these reproductive age groups indicates, however, that while an overall percentage decrease was realized between 1956 and 1966, the absolute numbers within each group increased substantially. This explains why, while the percentage of post-1966 births has decreased, the total number of births has remained nearly static (Table 2).

While stable populations develop stable age distributions, rapidly increasing populations evidence a greater proportion of younger age groups. The younger groups provide a broad base from which a large reproductive age group may eventually emerge, with the potential of even further increasing the birth rate. Tongan census statistics report a 1966 growth rate of 3.46 percent which represents one of the largest yearly growth rates in Tongan history. Since 1966, yearly percentage growth rates have decreased. However, as the younger age groups reach reproductive ages, Tonga may experience a resurging population expansion.

In order to forestall this continually increasing birth rate, and to establish a more stable demographic profile, the Tongan government has, since 1955, supported a family planning program. The medical department of the Tongan Ministry of Health began the present program of family planning in 1958, with aid from the South Pacific Commission. Since its initiation, the program has been extended to all parts of the Kingdom, with varying degrees of success.

[See Category 161, p. 28--Analyst.]

842 Tongan traditions are contrary to the concept of reduced
168 family size. Prior to 1950, high infant mortality motivated pro-
[164
[165 duction of large numbers of offspring. In addition, a large family
161 represented security for elderly parents. However, with the intro-
[165 duction of public health facilities, such as water purification,
[163 infant mortality declined, but without a corresponding decline in
[162 the birth rate. Thus, family size has increased slightly. The
average number of persons per household in 1956 was 6.6, while in
1966 this figure was 6.7.

168 Several of the active religions within the Tongan Kingdom
795 are a second major obstacle to effective family planning. These
842 church groups (Mormon, Free Church of Tonga and Catholic) are out-
spoken in their opposition to family planning and birth control.
Estimates of lay agreement to this opposition vary. The Office of
Family Planning in Tonga claims that 18 percent of the Catholic
population participates in the program. However, interviews con-
ducted in a cross sampling of the Tongan population indicated a
much lower percentage of Catholic supporters. Interviews with Mormon
and Free Church members indicated consistent rejection of the family
planning project. Despite the fact that the majority of the Tongan
population is of Methodist affiliation, the influence of smaller
church groups should not be underestimated. The Mormon church mis-
sion, for example, has experienced a rapid expansion in all areas
of the Kingdom. The potential for a religious-based block to
governmental birth control programs is not insignificant (Clark
1974).

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

168 842 A lack of consistent governmental support has produced a final obstacle to an effective family planning program. While a few members of the government outwardly support the program, others have, for various reasons, withheld their endorsement. This inconsistency is prevalent at all levels of the government.

The combined result of these three negative factors is a program far less effective than its earlier reported potential. 168 842 124 Interviews with Tongan family planning administrators indicated that while these are important considerations, family planning is making progress and stabilizing population growth. However, interview questions designed to determine the opinions of average village inhabitants toward Tongan population issues revealed several interesting factors.

168 Among those Tongan citizens questioned, there was almost unanimous agreement that overcrowding is a problem within Tonga, in the 1970s. This overcrowding was recognized at four societal levels: family, village, island, and nation. However, very few of those interviewed could supply an accurate national population estimate (within 15,000).

Similarly, of those interviewed, most believed that overpopulation would remain a major problem in Tonga's future. 168 842 On the other hand, few individuals considered family planning to be an important feature of household management.

Density of population was also found to be of minor importance in the acceptance or rejection of family planning. In a comparison of the high density areas of Ha'apai with low density

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

168 areas, suah as 'Eua, no significant difference in the proportion
842 of acceptance was evidenced. Nor were significant variations of acceptance noted between rural and urban areas.

Examination of interview responses tends to indicate that the major factor determining acceptance or rejection of a family planning program is based in economics. It was found that the average Tongan, even when knowledgeable of the population issue, was more concerned with his own cost of living, school fees, and social expenses, than with overcrowding in his village or nation. Recognition of the possibility of improving family living standards by the reduction of offspring was the major motivation for acceptance of family planning. It is argued that with current trends toward increased tourism, the economic incentive for family planning may be removed. However, fewer than one percent of the total population would benefit monetarily from these changes. Therefore, it apears that the major incentive to acceptance of planning, the possibility of improving economic status, will continue to be influential.

166 The possibility of improved economic status also is the driving force behind population migrations in modern Tonga. This possibility, coupled with related social aspects (i.e., educational facilities, urban amenities) of certain areas over others, provides the major stimulus for movement within the nation.

167 Tongans have, for centuries, been known as a regionally mobile population. However, while movements of population out of the islands were frequent, seldom were they permanent. For example,